of distance. In the presence of enterprising merchants, 443
particularly the attar or itinerant traders who will be discussed below, a cultivator in some outlying village need not undertake the arduous journey across broken country to Rowanduz to retail his products and to purchase the materials required by his home.

The agricultural village can enjoy a certain amount 433
of self-sufficiency insofar as its food supply is concerned, although the specialization in tobacco has transformed this to some extent, but there are a number of other requirements which only the merchant can satisfy, many of them "necessary luxuries" without which life is hardly bearable. For reasons which can only be speculated upon, the Kurdish villager is today far from being the master of his environment, and there are undoubtedly present a number of mineral, vegetable, and animal products which could be utilized to good advantage. He is no innovator and his knowledge of [176]
what we call woodcraft, the ingenious exploitation of the environment at a primitive level, is practically nothing. Once a young agha exhibited as a trophy an ibex skin, 281
dried hard and stiff, which, if properly tanned, would have made an excellent rug or covering. An inquiry, and later investigation, revealed that only a few villagers knew the techniques of preparing skins; almost all of the leather which is locally produced and put into use is what is commonly called rawhide. The villager thus re- 432
quires a great complex of things, of which only a few are cigarette papers, cloth, cooking utensils, iron or steel

the first World War, but they have been more in the substitution of the materials used and in the addition of new items rather than anything radical. Most of these are European, such as kerosene stoves and shoes, and have either displaced older manufactures, some of which survive, or have been readily accepted as new devices. The Kurd, is no innovator, but welcomes new things of a material sort, particularly if they appeal to him as ingenious, as the cigarette-lighter, and are integrated without difficulty into his daily life. It cannot be maintained that the increase of European imports has destroyed the self-sufficiency of the household or of the district, although it has certainly furthered the deterioration of native crafts, for this area has utilized trade from other locales for centuries. In general, it might be said that the last fifty years have seen the introduction of many new means to the same ends. An imported kerosene stove and cooking utensils are now used to prepare food, but the diet and the etiquette of dining have changed little. The sewing machine and fabrics from the mills of Great Britain now provide clothing, but the costume, save for European shoes, is much the same. A drastic reorientation has not been necessitated by the introduction of these new appearances, and household life in Rowanduz can be said to have evolved, and to still be evolving, into something which daily makes increased use of the devices and products of European civilization with great stability.

S: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

The economy of Kurdistan is primarily pastoral and agricultural. The nomads in particular are rich in sheep and goats, and their wool, goat-hair and dairy produce are always in demand. Rough carpets and cloth for the national costume are woven both by the nomads and in the villages. The principal winter crops are wheat and barley; wheat from the Arbil plain and the Mosul district is reputed to be the best in the whole country and commands a high price; in most years there is an exportable surplus, but there is always a danger of drought and famine. In summer wherever there is water the villagers persist in growing rice for their own needs in spite of official discouragement and the grave prejudice to health from malaria which is directly traceable to it. Minor irrigated summer crops are maize, millet and lentils. The most valuable money crop is tobacco, of which enough (9,800 tons in 1914) is produced for the needs of the whole country, and to spare. Other local products are walnuts, oak-galls, gum tragacanth, and sumac. Timber for building is floated down the major rivers, and, on the Little Zab in particular, rafts of inflated skins called *kelek* still carry grain and other north-country produce more cheaply than other forms of transport. Recent introductions to Kurdistan which are doing well are cotton and sugarbeets. Baghdad is almost exclusively the market for all these commodities. Raisins and dried mulberries from the highlands are generally taken to some nearer point in the plains to be bartered for wheat and barley.

Apart from the great oil industry which has grown up round Kirkuk since the first gusher was struck nearby in October 1927, there has so far been little industrial development. But many Kurds have been trained by the Iraq Petroleum Company in various branches of engineering, and large technical and industrial training colleges established or projected at Mosul and Kirkuk are well placed to attract Kurdish students. Private enterprise may thus be expected to supplement in due course an ambitious governmental programme.

This programme has been made possible by the enhanced and steadily increasing oil royalties which have accrued to the government since 1952 (£210 millions in 1955) and from which the northern liwas, like the rest of the country, have already derived great benefit: foreign experts have been engaged to advise on improved methods of cultivating and processing tobacco; a second experimental farm has been started near Sulaimani; artesian wells are being brought in for stock watering and for irrigation where suitable; old roads are being remetalled and new roads opened up; rivers and streams are being bridged; municipal housing, electricity and water schemes are being subsidized; particular attention is being paid to schools and hospitals; a cement factory is nearing completion near Sulaimani; a power station with an initial capacity of 40,000 Kw. (and an ul-

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

in olden times, and that the economy of the village will not stand the strain.

Much point is lent to this by the fact that Ali Agha of Bayat (head of the Shevtini), who being a nominal subordinate of Sheikh Mohammed received no Government subsidy, has remained a simple tribesman with few tendencies towards sophistication. Moreover, far from lamenting the new order he seems to find the present times extremely prosperous and is eagerly pressing his claims with the Government to have the Shevtini land registered in his own name, so that he can establish his people's claim to be an subject in their own right instead of merely a unit of the Balik. It seems significant too that the Shevtini, who alone have never had to undergo the economic shock of temporary Government support, appear to be today much the most integrated group in the sociological sense.

One further generalisation emerges from this analysis. We noted earlier that of the food consumed by the village, the only items that must be purchased by cash are sugar, tea, coffee and in some cases rice. We noted further that practically the whole of this expenditure was incurred by the Agha in connection with the maintenance of the Guest House and his own household. Now from our analysis of other forms of cash expenditure we see that these too fall almost exclusively on the Agha rather than the commoner. The Agha's expenditure thus differs from that of the commoner not only in volume but also very largely in kind. This distortion has important bearings for our further analysis.

Economic Balance of the Village Community

Of the various village groups in the area here described it is scarcely possible to select any single community as typical, so far as agricultural production is concerned. While all the groups are interested in approximately the same range of products, what might be called the 'emphasis of production' varies considerably. One village may specialise in fruit growing, another in wheat, another in tobacco and so on. This differentiation arises partly from geographical considerations - such as altitude, water supply, soil fertility - and partly from the conservative prejudices of the Aghas concerned. Owing to the increased trading contacts opened up since the coming of the road, and the need to satisfy newly developed wants for imported "luxury" goods the whole structure of the economic organisation of these hill people is undergoing very rapid change and readjustment. The individual variations as between different villages at the present time depend in the main upon the degree to which this readjustment to changed external circumstances has already taken place. It should be borne in mind therefore that the synthetic account of this process of change in the following few pages, though valid in general terms if applied to the district as a whole, is not necessarily applicable to any single village community.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

any single village community.

The basis of the ordinary Kurdish menu is unleavened bread, baked in thin slabs (nan), and a sour milk product of the yoghourt type (mast); in addition by a rather elaborate process of boiling the whole wheat grain and then crushing it, a sort of imitation boiled rice (sama) is produced, which is eaten just as ordinary pilaf would be with stewed vegetables or mutton. The fundamentals of the food supply are thus wheat and goats. And in fact by far the greater proportion of arable land is devoted to wheat cultivation. Such land is normally worked on an alternate system - one year crop, one year fallow and this rotation is apparently sufficient to maintain the soil in fertility. The supplementary acreage devoted to vegetables such as marrows, tomatoes, gherkins, brinjal, lentils, etc. is very approximately one sixth of the wheat land. For the most part the vegetable acreage requires irrigation.

Though wheat has the largest acreage, rice would everywhere be the preferred crop if it could be extensively cultivated. The rice yield in volume is roughly thirty times greater than that of wheat for equal areas of cultivation, and the Kurd is well aware of the advantages to be gained by increasing his rice acreage at the expense of the wheat. He would willingly substitute cooked rice (p'lau) for the sama if it could be managed. I discussed this matter in some detail with Sheikh Mohammed of Saloah and it was clear that he was firmly under the impression that the acreage devoted to rice in Saloah was the maximum the irrigation system would stand, and this was probably the case, though the irrigation was in fact very unintelligently arranged.

A third cereal grown only in small quantities is millet.

As things are at present, the cereal production is barely adequate for the needs of the local community and there can certainly be no exports. In fact most of the Aghas purchase additional supplies of rice from outside so as to be able always to serve p'lau to their guests instead of sama.

In former times this bare self sufficiency in primary products set no great strain on the economics of the community. Few commodities had to be imported; clothing was almost entirely locally produced, and trade requirements were limited to a small range of metal goods and certain luxuries such as tea and sugar. But as has

* In the villages around Dergala there is an exceptional acreage devoted to the cultivation of mash, which appears to be a kind of lentils, but the proportion of wheat land is here correspondingly reduced. In this area presumably most of the mash crop is traded.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

been pointed out in a previous section the events of the last thirty years have served to create a steadily increasing demand for a range of imports which, if they might previously have been classed as luxuries, are now regarded by the Kurds themselves as essential necessaries. Whatever the immediate nature of the cash or credit transactions by which such goods are purchased, they must ultimately be paid for by the 'exports' of the community as a whole, and the problem arises as to how this can be done in a community which, on the face of it, can only produce a bare self-sufficiency of primary products. The following table shows approximately the categories of goods that go to make up the 'balance of trade' for the tribes of the Balik area.

Imports

First Quality Rice for Aghas (brinj eshri - chiefly from Persia), Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Matches, Metalware, Clothing, Kerosene, Dyes. Of these the most important are rice, sugar, tea and clothing.

Exports

Tobacco, Lentils, Walnuts, Galls nuts, Honey.
Fruits:- Apricots, Apples, Pears, Grapes, Raisins, Almonds.
Wool and Goatskins.
Of these by far the most important is tobacco.

In addition there are certain cash transactions that must be taken into account which are independent of the process of trade. On the debit side certain sales-taxes and legal dues have to be paid in cash to the Government, and there is an excise duty on tobacco. This latter is nominally due only on tobacco actually traded but in practice it appears to be charged on the private supplies of the cultivator also. The Agha again incurs certain cash expenditure in educating his children. He also incurs very substantial expenditure in 'purchasing' his own wives and those of his sons, but since the majority of such marriages take place within the group these exchanges do not necessarily affect the economy of the community as a whole. On the credit side one must allow for the fact that a small number of tribes-people are earning wages either in Rowanduz or down on the plain, and that such people may send home part of their earnings in cash.

In general however it is fairly true to say that all the goods imported by the groups of the Balik area must ultimately be paid for by the proceeds of surplus fruit and tobacco. Large scale fruit production is limited to the villages around Hast, and I will therefore consider only the problem as it affects tobacco production, this crop having a much more general relevance.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

609
249
648

character; it was alleged that he corrupted the villagers with alcohol and gambling and attempted to seduce their daughters, in particular the Malla's daughter, in fact he was altogether a scoundrel. In due course he was found in the high road with two bullets through his body. The police took action. Two harmless looking nomads from another tribe were brought before the courts and on the basis of somewhat elaborate circumstantial evidence convicted of murder. Sentence however was never carried out since the "criminals" curiously disappeared a few days after the trial. Whatever was the truth of this matter, local rumour had no doubts on the subject. The bullet wounds, the arrest and conviction of the nomads were all a frame up by the police, who had the sense not to fish in troubled waters. The murdered man had really died of strangulation - hanged in the Guest House of Sheikh Mohammad, Agha of Walash and chief of the Balik.

This story was told me by Hamid Amin of Rowanduz who was always eager to cast a slur on his cousin Sheikh Mohammad. It appeared however to have some general currency since, when I was discussing the misdemeanours of the local schoolmaster with the Agha of Rayat, he referred to the Walash story. "These small Government servants! What do you expect? They're all scoundrels".

Whether the story is true or not is irrelevant, its effect among the Balik is the same as if it had been true. Even though Sheikh Mohammad's prestige is not so great as formerly, the fact, or even the rumour, that he had to hang his first and only agricultural adviser is a sufficient deterrent for any lesser Aghas who may be contemplating agricultural reform within their own communities. This example brings out well how a problem which on the surface is purely economic may in practice be affected by a mass of seemingly irrelevant considerations in the field of ethics, tribal law, politics and religion.

433 •
249
178

To sum up then. We have seen how the necessity for developing an export trade implies the necessity for increasing the tobacco acreage at the expense of cereal acreage, and I have tried to analyse out the forces of resistance which serve to prevent any immediate response to this incentive. Nevertheless the incentive is clearly very great. I was told for instance in Betas that whereas in the old days the crops of the entire village had been worth barely £50 in cash, the tobacco sales in 1937 alone totalled £2,500. I believe therefore that in the hills also some radical alteration in the emphasis of agriculture must take place in the near future.

But it must be recognised that any such development must bring about fundamental changes both in the ideology of the people and of their social organisation. As things are, the hill country farmer sets out first of all to grow sufficient food for himself and his family. Only when he is assured of that does he turn his attention to the cultivation of luxury products such as tobacco. In short he aims at

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

433 being self sufficient in his production, trading only that which is
249 surplus to his requirements. Under the new conditions the local
178 production of cereals will be inadequate and the difference will have to be made up by trading tobacco for wheat. Thus for the first time the ordinary commoner will be forced to evaluate his basic foodstuffs in terms of a cash economy - and this may have serious consequences. Under present conditions tobacco is so enormously valuable (in terms of cash) compared with any other Kurdish production that some well favoured villages may come to rely on this crop to the exclusion of all others, thus making the welfare of the community dependent upon fluctuations in the price of tobacco on the Baghdad market, - hardly a desirable development.

299 The social consequences of an increase in tobacco cultivation
427 may be equally drastic. Consider for instance the matter of rents.
435 In a previous section I have suggested that the commoner normally pays his Agha 50% of the yield of his land; and this is evidently no great hardship since the commoner family lives satisfactorily on the remaining 50%. Moreover in terms of cash the rental does not represent very much - at 1938 prices, a ton of wheat would purchase locally only just over 50 kilos of sugar. But under the new system not only will the commoner be unable to satisfy his own food requirements without resort to trade, but a 50% rental would, relatively speaking, be worth its weight in gold, - with the added exasperation that the commoner who trades tobacco will for the first time find himself under a direct tax obligation to the Government. There is little doubt that in such circumstances 'rents' would be reduced. In my view the general levelling up of financial status as between commoner and Agha which would result from this process would be entirely fatal to the existing tribal organisation.

249 On the analogy with the lowland areas the ultimate line of
622 evolution is indeed clear. The Agha finds it increasingly
425 difficult to maintain his obligations of kinship and hospitality; he falls into debt and eventually by some trick of the law the tribal land is mortgaged to pay the bill; thereafter the new Agha is merely a landlord with no personal ties with the community - the process of tribal dissolution may to all intents and purposes be regarded as complete.

299 From the Government's point of view such a development is not
464 entirely undesirable. A completely detribalised community is in many respects easier to administer than a tribal one, at least in the short term view. And there are still wider factors affecting the situation. The labour for the Kirkuk oil fields is largely supplied

* This is theoretically impossible, since by Iraq definition tribal land is miri land. Nevertheless the process of alienation has in the past clearly taken place in the plains and foothill areas.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

Land Scarcity, House Construction and Kinship

311 The indications are that land resources are for the most part as fully utilized as present technical equipment permits; the amount of 433 marginal land that could be brought into cultivation merely by an increase in economic inducement is small. Except on the moorland country above Khalan where conditions are too severe, wheat is cultivated wherever the land is sufficiently level to work a plough, and where shelter permits subsidiary cultivations such as vines are carried far up onto the steep hill face. Since there is clear evidence that the food supplies grown are only barely adequate for the needs of the community it may be postulated that the existing population approximates to the maximum that can be supported by the present economic system.

361 Land scarcity anyway seems the most plausible explanation for the 342 very curious form of architecture adopted in this region. The villages 621 are always constructed on a steep hill which could have no possible 592 agricultural utility. They are not constructed at the top of the hill as defence considerations might seem to suggest but on the side of it immediately above the level plough land at the bottom of the valley. Sometimes as at Walash and at Rayat the houses are clustered together in an almost solid block; elsewhere they are grouped into a number of individual clusters, the cohesion of these visible structures seeming to bear some correlation with the degree of kinship unity within the village. As can be seen from photograph No. 3½ the houses in a particular cluster are frequently built one above the other in a series of terraces so that the roof of one house forms the front porch of the one below. The house block shown in the photograph was occupied by two brothers and their families. These occupied the two top buildings. The bottom building though also originally a dwelling house was at the time of my visit being used as a store house for both families. And this is no exceptional case; a single block of buildings such as this is usually found to be occupied by a group of near relatives functioning for the most part as a joint economic group. In view of the obvious inconveniences of such close proximity it could hardly be otherwise. If however economic developments of the future tend to accentuate the rights of the individual as opposed to those of the kinship group we may expect the complementary development of a more individualistic style of architecture. On the other hand the existing type of joint dwelling house is a factor which complicates any effort on the part of the Agha to reorganise the system of land tenure and cultivation on lines of greater efficiency.

361 One may remark perhaps that in the plains where the whole 342 agricultural emphasis is upon wheat production and where the limitations of water supply radically affect the whole economic organisation of the community, not only the arrangement of the villages but the actual technological construction of the houses is totally different from that of the hill districts. What follows applies only to the villages of the

[½ [Opposite p 74. B -- Draught]